

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 CAIRO 17776 01 OF 02 262243Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----077128 262247Z /75
O 262228Z JUL 78 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1930

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 CAIRO 17776

NODIS

CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PBOR PERP PGOV EG IS US
SUBJECT: SADAT LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER

REF: CAIRO 17589

1. FONMIN KAMEL CALLED ME LATE THIS AFTERNOON FROM ALEXANDRIA IMMEDIATELY AFTER EGYPTIAN NSC MEETING AND BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FOR AMMAN IN ORDER TO SAY HE WAS SENDING A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT SADAT TO PRESIDENT CARTER FOR IMMEDIATE FORWARDING. THE LETTER WAS RECEIVED 2130 TONIGHT. TEXT FOLLOWS:

2. QUOTE:

MY DEAR FRIEND PRESIDENT CARTER,
IN THE LIGHT OF THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, I WISH TO EXCHANGE MY VIEWS WITH YOU, AS HAS BECOME THE REGULAR PRACTICE BETWEEN US, IN ORDER TO ASSESS THE SITUATION AND CONSIDER WHAT STEPS CAN AND SHOULD BE TAKEN TO BRING US NEARER TO OUR COMMON AIM: A JUST, LASTING AND COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN THE AREA.
I THINK THAT WE HAVE NOW REACHED IMPORTANT AND CRUCIAL
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CROSSROADS, AND THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL AT THIS JUNCTURE, TO PONDER OVER WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE MY VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

THE OBJECTIVE OF MY PEACE INITIATIVE, AS I STATED IN MY SPEECH BEFORE THE KNESSET ON NOVEMBER 20, 1977, WAS, AND STILL IS, TO ACHIEVE PEACE. IN THAT SPEECH, I SAID "I HAVE COME TO YOU TO BUILD A NEW LIFE AND TO ESTABLISH PEACE.....

IN THE HISTORY OF NATIONS AND PEOPLES, THERE COME MOMENTS WHEN IT BECOMES IMPERATIVE FOR THOSE ENDOWED WITH WISDOM AND CLEAR VISION, TO OVERCOME THE PAST WITH ALL ITS COMPLICATIONS AND RESIDUES, TO MOVE TOWARDS NEW HORIZONS. WE MUST ALL RISE ABOVE EVERY FORM OF FANATECISM, ABOVE SELF DECEPTION AND ABOVE THEORIES OF SUPERIORITY". I ADDED: "THE ARAB WORLD IS NOT SEEKING A DURABLE AND JUST PEACE FROM A POSITION OF WEAKNESS OR INSTABILITY. RATHER, IT POSSESSES ALL POTENTIALITIES OF POWER AND STABILITY. HENCE, ITS POSITION STEMS FROM A GENUINE WILL TO ACHIEVE PEACE, FROM A CIVILIZED AWARENESS THAT IN ORDER TO AVERT A DEFINITE CATASTROPHE (FOR ALL) WE HAVE NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE BUT TO ESTABLISH A DURABLE AND JUST PEACE, A PEACE THAT CANNOT BE SHAKEN BY STORMS, OR TAMPERED THROUGH DOUBTS, OR SHAKEN BY ILL INTENTIONS".

IN THAT SAME SPEECH, I STATED THAT PEACE IS POSSIBLE PROVIDED THAT THE ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967 BE RESTITUTED, AND THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE BE RECOGNIZED. THIS HAS BEEN MY CONSTANT ATTITUDE, WHICH I REPEATED OVER AND OVER AGAIN: YES TO PEACE, TO SECURITY, TO NORMAL AND GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS, BUT LAND AND SOVEREIGNTY WE CANNOT AND WILL NOT CONCEDE. ALL MY ACTIONS HAVE PROCEEDED FROM MY, AND MY PEOPLE'S DEEP AND SINCERE DEDICATION TO PEACE.

UNFORTUNATELY, THIS SPIRIT HAS NOT BEEN RECIPROCATED. FROM THE VERY FIRST MOMENT, IT BECAME CLEAR THAT PRIME SECRET

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MINISTER BEGIN WAS UNABLE TO OVERCOME HIS DANGEROUS ILLUSIONS, AND WAS NOT READY TO FACE REALITIES AND ENGAGE SINCERELY IN THE PEACE PROCESS. THROUGHOUT ALL THE MEETINGS WHICH FOLLOWED MY VISIT TO JERUSALEM: AT THE CAIRO PREPATORY MEETING, IN ISMAILIA, IN THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY COMMITTEES, THE ATTITUDE OF MR. BEGIN'S GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN TO CLING TO OBSOLETE CONCEPTIONS. HOWEVER, SINCE PEACE IS A CHERISHED GOAL, WE HAVE, AT EACH AND EVERY TIME, OVERCOME OUR GROWING DOUBTS AS TO THE REAL INTENTIONS OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, IN THE HOPE THAT THEY WOULD COME TO UNDERSTAND THAT PEACE IS WORTH GIVING UP AMBITIONS OF ANNEXATION AND EXPANSION. THIS IS, MR PRESIDENT, THE ONLY OBLIGATION WE ASK OF THEM, AND THIS IS WHAT THEY REFUSE TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO. AND YET, WHEN YOU THOUGHT THAT ANOTHER ROUND OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WAS NECESSARY IN ORDER TO ALLOW THE UNITED STATES TO POSITION THEMSELVES, AND PREPARE FOR PLAYING THE ACTIVE ROLE ON WHICH WE AGREED AT CAMP DAVID, I AGREED TO A MEETING OF THE THREE FOREIGN MINISTERS IN LONDON, DESPITE MY DOUBTS AND RESERVATIONS. I THOUGHT IT WAS ALSO A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN DIRECTLY TO THE ISRAELIS OUR PLAN WHICH DEALS WITH THE CORE AND CRUX OF THE CONFLICE: THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM.

THIS PLAN, AS YOU KNOW, IS BASED ON A TRUE INTERPRETATION OF RESOLUTION 242, AND OF THE OBLIGATIONS OF ALL THE PARTIES AS SPELLED OUT IN THAT RESOLUTION. IT IS A TRANSLATION INTO THE FACT OF THE EQUATION: WITHDRAWAL PLUS SECURITY EQUALS PEACE, GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS. THIS WAS SO CLEARLY OBVIOUS THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF ISRAEL COULD NOT, IN THE PRESENCE OF SECRETARY VANCE, SAY THAT HE REJECTS OUR PLAN. BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, HE CLEARLY STATED, ALSO IN THE

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PRESENCE OF MR VANCE, THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT WANT TO RESTITUTE THE LAND THAT IT WANTS TO CONTINUE MILITARY OCCUPATION, TO ANNEX ARAB TERRITORIES, THAT IT WANTS TO DENY THE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AND REFUSES TO ABIDE BY U.N. RESOLUTIONS PERTAINING TO THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

IF THE AIM OF THE LEEDS CASTLE MEETING WAS TO CLARIFY THE POSITIONS OF THE PARTIES IN ORDER FOR THE U.S. TO BE ABLE TO ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITIES THEY HAVE AGREED TO SHOULDER AS A FULL PARTNER, THEN I BELIEVE THAT THIS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. IT WOULD NOT, IN MY JUDGEMENT, BE USEFUL TO HOLD A NEW MEETING WHILE THE ISREALI POSITION REMAINS AS IT IS. THE PARTIES WOULD ONLY REPEAT THEIR POSITIONS, PERHAPS HARDENING THEM IN THE PROCESS, AND WE WOULD BE FACED WITH AN EVEN MORE COMPLICATED SITUATION. THIS IS WHY I FEEL THAT, UNLESS ISREAL SHOWS ITS SINCERE READINESS FOR ADOPTING ATTITUDES AND POLICIES WHICH CAN HELP THE PEACE PROCESS A NEW MEETING CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED. ALL THE MORE SO, AS ISRAELI DECLARATIONS AND ATTITUDES HAVE, SINCE, SHOWN THAT

THEY ARE DECIDED TO CONTINUE ON THIS DANGEROUS COURSE.
THEY TRY TO MIX THE ISSUES, AND DIVERT US TO SIDE ISSUES.
I EVEN SOMETIMES FEEL THAT MR BEGIN WANTS TO TREAT THE
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PEACE PROCESS AS A COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION AND SOLVE IT BY
BARTER. THIS IS A DISTORSION OF THE SPIRIT OF MY INITIATIVE,
AND WILL LEAD US NOWHERE. WE ASK FOR NO CONCESSIONS, THE
LAND IS OURS AND WE CANNOT CONCEDE IT. PEACE WILL NOT BE
BUILT ON "BARTER BASIS"...IT CAN ONLY BE DURABLE IF IT IS
JUST, AND IF IT CREATES CONDITIONS FOR GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RE-
LATIONS. OTHERWISE ANY AGREEMENT WOULD BEAR THE SEEDS OF
FURTHER STRIFE AND CONFLICT. UNFORTUNATELY, ISRAELI STATE-
MENTS SHOW THAT THEY HAVE NOT YET COME TO THIS LOGICAL CON-
CLUSION, AND THEY ADOPT ATTITUDES SIMILAR TO THOSE WHICH
MAKE IT NECESSARY TO WITHDRAW THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION FROM
JERUSALEM, IN ORDER TO DEPRIVE MR BEGIN OF THE OPPORTUNITY
TO COMPLETELY DESTROY THE PEACE PROCESS.
MR PRESIDENT,

SECRETARY VANCE WILL BE COMING SOON TO THE AREA. I WILL
BE DISCUSSING ALL THESE ISSUES WITH HIM. BUT I WANTED TO
ACQUAINT YOU, IN ADVANCE, WITH MY PRESENT THINKING IN ALL
FRANKNESS AND SINCERITY. I THINK THE PEACE PROCESS CAN
BE SAVED, PROVIDED THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT CAN BE MADE
TO UNDERSTAND THAT IT WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE TO
EXPLOIT THE PROCESS AS A VEIL FOR ITS ILLEGAL AIMS AND AM-
BITIONS. OTHERWISE, WE WILL ALL BE FACED WITH A SITUATION
FRAUGHT WITH GREAT DANGERS.

IT IS PEACE THAT YOU AND I, MR PRESIDENT, ARE SEEKING
AND WORKING FOR. WE ARE WORKING FOR THE FUTURE.
IF MR BEGIN AGREES TO LOOK WITH US IN THE SAME DIRECTION,
WE WILL BE VERY NEAR OUR GOAL. IF, ON THE CONTRARY, HE
CHOOSES TO REMAIN PRISONER OF OLD AMBITIONS, CONCEPTIONS
AND MISCONCEPTIONS, HE WILL BEAR, BEFORE THE WORLD AND
HIS PEOPLE, THE TERRIBLE RESPONSIBILITY OF LETTING A
UNIQUE CHANCE FADE AWAY.

- YOURS TRULY
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- MOHAMED ANWAR EL SADAT
26.7.78
UNQUOTE

3. THIS IS THE LETTER THAT SADAT MENTIONED TO ME JULY 24,
THAT HE PLANNED TO SEND TO PRESIDENT CARTER (REFTEL). IT

IS SELF-EXPLANATORY. EILTS

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